

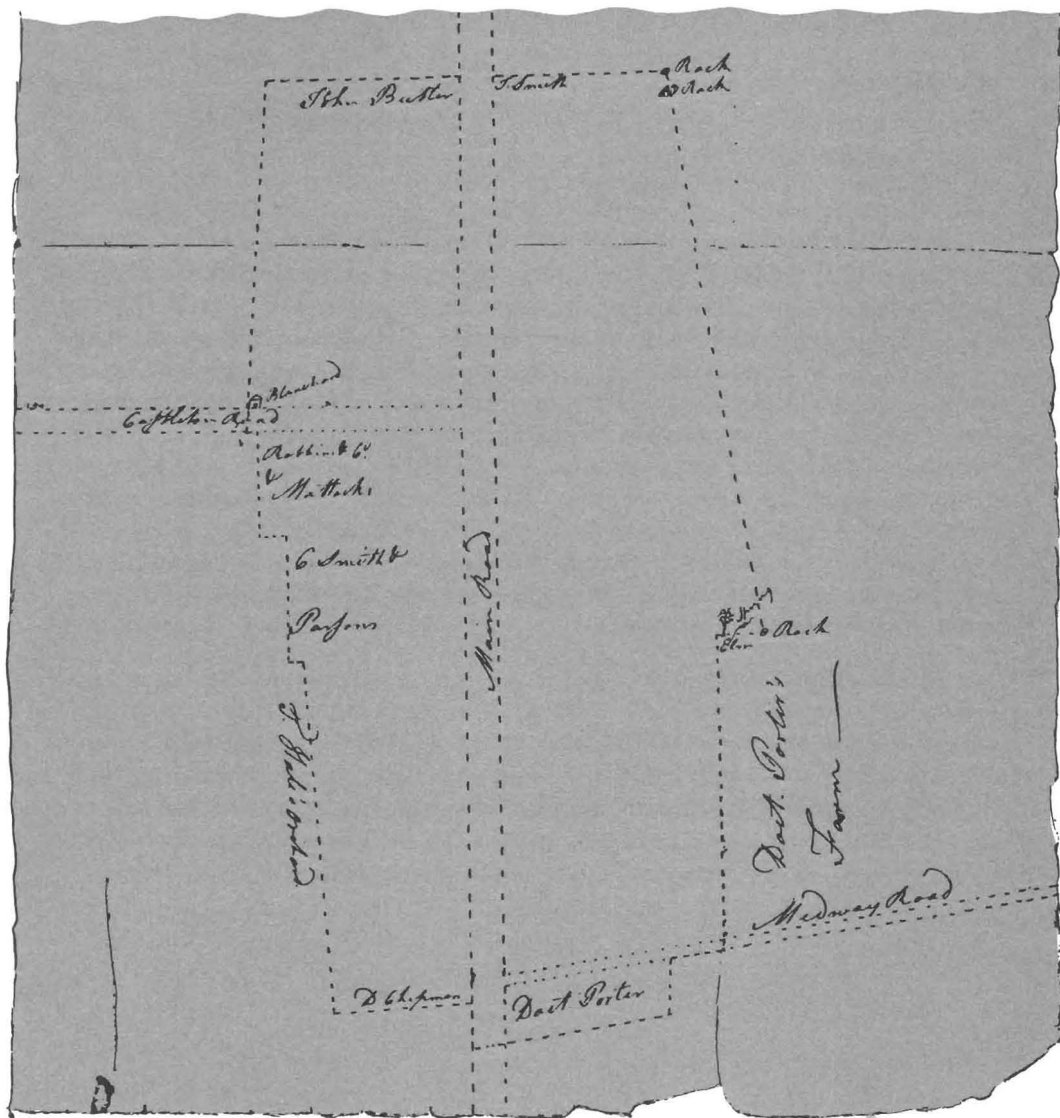
RUTLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Quarterly

VOLUME XXIII No. 1

1993

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RUTLAND

(Part IV)



THE NEW IMMIGRATION AND POSTWAR PROBLEMS (1779-1791)

By James S. Davidson

At the end of the American Revolution there was a significant immigration into Vermont, some of which was simply a renewal of the migration north that had been interrupted by the war. Yet some was caused by the fact that Vermont was not heavily burdened with war debts and taxes as were the states of the Confederation. Some migration was simply because people were in debt and had nothing to lose by the change. To some degree the post-Revolutionary migration from Connecticut and Massachusetts was part of a general restlessness among the people. This restlessness was also found among many people who had previously come to Vermont and now moved north into the Champlain Valley, picking up the "stepping stone" pattern where they left off, or took the larger leap into western New York.¹

Before the Revolution, Rutland did not have an especially rapid growth. An observer in 1773 estimated that there were thirty-five families in Rutland and in 1774 another observer estimated that there were sixty to seventy families. These estimates were generous if not excessive. Yet little of this early immigration located in the east part where the urban village of the next decade was to develop. During the height of the Tory danger during the Revolution (1777-1780) many families were compelled to abandon their homes and move south, some as far as Massachusetts, as a matter of personal safety. In 1778 the construction and garrisoning of Fort Ranger added a significant number of people and economic opportunity to the community of Rutland. After 1780 much of the northern threat was held in check by the Haldimand Negotiations and some signs of immigration into Vermont were seen. Some of the immigrants were refugees returning to their homes but a number were new settlers.²

Three factors significantly distinguished this new immigration from the pre-Revolutionary immigration. First, much of it came from the east, from New Hampshire and eastern Massachusetts. Second, much of it came over the east portion of the Crown Point Military Road. Although the road had been in existence since the French and Indian wars and was an important link between the

Cover illustration:

Vermont law provided for the establishment of a jailyard, usually encompassing the business district of the village, where prisoners could obtain employment. The following buildings are given in the 1798 limits: John Butler and Israel Smith at 41 and 44 North Main Street, respectively; Blanchard on West Street; Robbins & Co. and Mattocks on Court Square; C. Smith at 68 Center Street; Parsons and T. Hale on the west side of the park; D. Chipman at 61 South Main Street; Dr. Porter at the corner of South Main Street and Killington Avenue.

forts at the lower end of the Lake Champlain and the sources of supply in the Connecticut River Valley, apparently few, if any, immigrants to Rutland used the road before the American Revolution. Third, many of these new immigrants were men who had commercial, professional and artisan interests as opposed to the almost solely agrarian interests of the early immigrants. Thus Rutland's location on the Crown Point Military Road, just on the west side of the Green Mountains and at the head of the passageway north into the Champlain Valley corridor, was an economically advantageous position for profiting from the transient immigrant and thus attracted and retained a new commercially oriented population.³

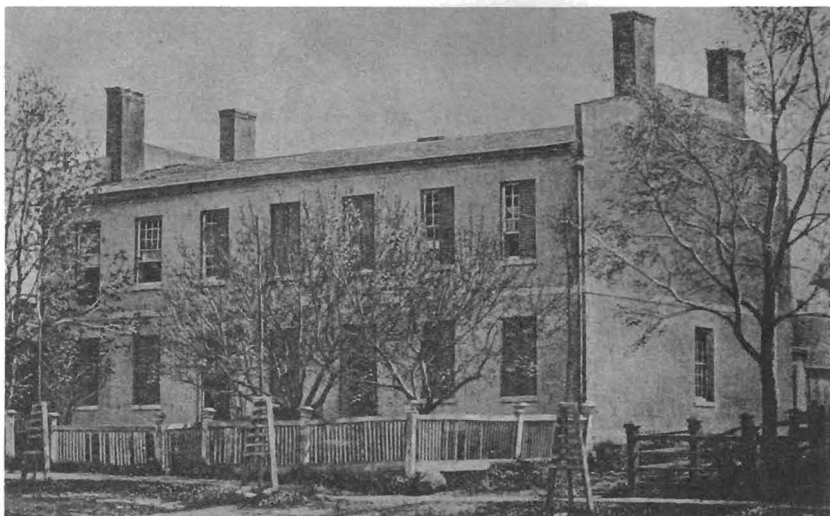
The earliest immigrant family of record in this new immigration into Rutland over the Crown Point Military Road was the McConnell family, which came to Rutland in 1779. Thomas McConnell and two of his sons, Samuel and William, came to Rutland in the spring of 1779. In the fall his wife Mary, another son John, and two daughters, Margaret and Mary, joined the family in Rutland. At this time they built a new home to replace the log house they had lived in during the summer.

The McConnells' trip through the Green Mountains well illustrated many of the difficulties and first impressions that were common to travelers crossing the Green Mountains from the east. Upon their arrival at Captain Coffin's Inn in Cavendish, the McConnells discovered that the Coffins' cow had become lost that night and as a result they had only Indian pudding and molasses for supper and breakfast the next morning. The horses had nothing to eat and, although they were turned out to pasture, the grass had not yet started to grow. The next day they came only thirteen miles over a muddy and icy road in the midst of snow and rain all day long. That night they stopped in Ludlow where the horses had only oats. But the next was a warm, pleasant day. They reached the west side of the mountain and found it summer-like with some green grass already sprouted.⁴

Not only was the McConnell family part of a new immigration from the east but they were also part of a new mixture. Thomas had been born in Scotland and Mary in Ireland. Thomas was reputed to have been a member of the Boston Tea Party and Samuel, his eldest son, had been a sailor.⁵

In 1785 Nathan Osgood, a young merchant from Charlestown, New Hampshire, came to Rutland's east village, where he opened a store. Charlestown was at the east end of the Crown Point Military Road and had been the chief center for exchange for central and eastern Vermont into the Revolutionary years. Osgood's move signified at least an anticipation of the development of a trade center in Rutland.⁶

In August 1787 young James Butler, who had been born in Boston, moved to Rutland's east village where he began a hatter's trade. Five years later he opened a store in Rutland. About this time Timothy Cheney and his sons came to Rutland from Dedham, Massachusetts, and made brick at the south end of the east village. The Cheneys also laid the brick that they made. Timothy often stated that he "carried on his business more independently than any man he knew for he not only made his own materials, but he made his own workmen." Numerous other artisans and craftsmen came during the 1780s and most of them pursued their occupations in the growing village.⁷



Butler House and store

During 1788 and 1789 the new immigration was complemented by new clergy. The Reverend Lemuel Haynes, a mulatto, came from Massachusetts in 1788 to fill the pastorate in the West Parish after the death of the Reverend Benajah Roots in 1787. In 1788 the Reverend Augustine Hibbard came to the East Parish as a preacher. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and had been pastor in Claremont, New Hampshire. But in the spring of 1789 the East Parish decided to settle the Reverend Doctor Samuel Williams from Harvard College. Dr. Williams had been a graduate of Harvard in 1761 and had served fifteen years in the ministry at Bradford, Massachusetts, until he was appointed Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard. He was at Harvard from 1780 until June, 1788, when he resigned under a cloud of suspicion regarding his handling of trust funds.⁸

On 19 October 1787 a small group of Rutland inhabitants, who lived in Whipple Hollow in the northwest corner of the West Parish, decided to unite with some of their neighbors in the Pittsford part of the Hollow to organize a religious society to obtain preaching more conveniently. On 9 September 1788 this society, called the Orange Society, petitioned the General Assembly to authorize the erection of the Orange Parish so they could settle a minister. Their petition was refused for reasons that are not apparent. Nevertheless, by 1789 they had obtained the preaching of the Reverend Abraham Carpenter from Plainfield, New Hampshire. The Reverend Carpenter, who was originally from Rehoboth in eastern Massachusetts, served his people most faithfully until his death in 1797.⁹

The rapid postwar growth of Vermont led to a shortage of food which existed at least until 1789, although Noah Webster's claim that Vermonters were reduced to eating tadpoles and pea-straw boiled with potatoes seems to be nonsense. Missionary testimonies substantiated these shortages and tended to see little of optimism in the crude beginnings of urban communities. However, even the highly



RUTLAND DAILY HERALD

Dr. Samuel Williams



*SKETCHES OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF
THE REV. LEMUEL HAYNES, A.M.*

Rev. Lemuel Haynes

critical Reverend Nathan Perkins found Rutland to be a county town of considerable settlement when he visited it in 1789.¹⁰

But there were other problems. Even before the end of the Revolution a question arose which threatened the homes of many Vermont inhabitants. Due to their speculative nature, many proprietary titles to land in Vermont had exchanged hands numerous times. As a result, there was often uncertainty as to the validity of land titles, especially since many of the New Hampshire grants were matched by conflicting New York grants. The situation was further complicated by the loss of proprietary records during the war and the difficulty of recording claims under wartime conditions. In addition, there were numerous settlers who had simply settled, some knowingly and some unknowingly, on other people's land. The result was that many settlers on Vermont lands had little certainty of their title to the lands.¹¹

The situation required some just compromise between the anarchy of complete squatters' rights and the injustice of wholesale ejections. On the one hand many legitimate settlers unknowingly had defective land titles. On the other hand many absentee proprietors with legal title had done nothing to protect or improve their land during the Revolution. Although titles had to be upheld, it seemed only just to allow the settler some compensation for his improvements.¹²

In 1785 Nathaniel Chipman, a brilliant young lawyer from Tinmouth, Vermont, authored a novel law called the Betterment or Quieting Act which secured to the occupant of the land, compensation for his improvements. Ejectment could not be carried out unless the compensation was first paid. Under the act the settler received one-half of the difference between the value of the land before and the value of the land after improvement and the full value of the buildings. In addition, no ejectment could be prosecuted after three years if the cause occurred before the act. The law was of a temporary nature for it did not extend to anything in the future, nor to any possessions after October 1780.¹³

At the end of the Revolution another problem arose which was not unique to Rutland nor Vermont. Although living conditions in Vermont were in many ways better than those prevailing in the states of the American Confederation, there was a shortage of money nearly everywhere and what Continental paper money was available was so greatly depreciated that it was of little value. The problem was further aggravated by the judicial procedure which required liquidation of accounts upon a judgment which usually involved an additional lawsuit by the adjudged on his debtors in order to raise the money to meet the original judgment. Court costs, lawyers' fees and the form of judicial procedure combined to bring the cost of justice to an unreasonable height.¹⁴

On 15 August 1786 nearly two hundred farmers from ten towns of Rutland County assembled at the Supreme Court session in Rutland to protest these conditions. The gathering and protestation was moderate and in no way disturbed the peace and order of the community.¹⁵

On 5 September 1786 the freemen of the town of Rutland voted unanimously to submit a petition, concerning the problems of the judicial procedure and the lack of currency, at the next session of the General Assembly which was to be held in Rutland in October. Deacon William Roberts and Benjamin Whipple, Esquire, two older West Parish proprietors, were selected as agents to present the document.

In this appeal to the General Assembly the freemen complained of the operations of some attorneys who got an assortment of blank writs, had them signed by a justice of the peace and then proceeded to get notes or accounts due upon which to issue writs. The size of the note or account due was not important. Then the attorney often got a deputy sheriff in a remote part of the county to serve a writ, thus increasing costs and enabling some deputy sheriffs to make a regular business of serving writs. In such cases costs often exceeded the value of the debt under execution. The petition charged that the estates of debtors were often posted for sale and bid-off by the sheriff or some of the creditors for little or nothing and in some cases left the original debt still unpaid.

In court the petition charged attorneys had used intimidation of witnesses, had confused juries with the intricacies of the law, had tried to invalidate defendants' evidence and generally had made it more difficult for a jury to come to a just decision. By intimidation and slurs, attorneys had generally discouraged parties from speaking in their own causes. All of which had resulted in large fees

for lawyers at the expense of the parties concerned. Many small but just debts thus had become useless to prosecute because of the high legal costs.

The petition concluded with a request that the General Assembly would make some changes in the judicial procedure to remedy these evils. In addition, since the economic system of notes and book accounts created a very complex system of interlocking credit but with no easily convertible instruments of credit, the petition requested either the issue of paper money on some substantial basis to provide a medium of trade or the enactment of a general tender act whereby cattle, grain, horses, etc., would satisfy.¹⁶

In October 1786 the legislature met at the courthouse in Rutland. There was a general feeling of discontent and a large number of representatives wanted the state to issue paper money and to enact a general tender law. A few conservative members of the legislature in concert with Nathaniel Chipman, who was beginning to assume leadership of a conservative movement in Vermont, were convinced that these measures would increase rather than decrease the evils they sought to remedy. Thus, they succeeded in postponing action by moving that the people should vote on the questions at a special town meeting on 1 January 1787 and that returns should be made at the next session of the Legislature in February 1787. Chipman's views prevailed when the returns to the General Assembly showed that each of the radical measures had been thoroughly turned down in Rutland and throughout Vermont.¹⁷

After the adjournment of the General Assembly, several citizens denounced its actions and attempted to incite resistance to the execution of the laws. One of the leaders of the resistance was Colonel Thomas Lee of Rutland, now a private citizen, but who had served in a command position with both the militia and the Continental troops during the Revolution.

On Tuesday, 21 November 1786 the judges of the County Court arrived in Rutland to hold their scheduled session of court. Some of the lawsuits at this session were for recovery of debt and, since the General Assembly had not acted to stay such executions, a mob of citizens decided to prevent the Court from sitting. A mob of men and boys, armed with clubs, filled the streets and then gathered around the Courthouse to protest the holding of the Court. The Court opened but adjourned until two o'clock in the afternoon. At this juncture a number of men presented a petition to the judges requesting that they adjourn without doing any business. The judges replied that they would consider the petition at the end of the day's business. When the Court reconvened at two o'clock, Colonel Lee, with about one hundred men, rushed into the building and threatened the Court for not granting the petition. Under the circumstances the Court decided to adjourn until nine o'clock the next morning. Infuriated by the failure of the Court to act favorably on the petition, a few of the mob quickly went to a neighboring house where they procured firearms. Upon their return they armed the rest of the mob, which then surrounded the Courthouse, and held all in the building as prisoners for about two hours. Failing to thus intimidate the Court, the mob released them to their quarters. Again the mob presented its petition which was formally rejected by the Court. Part of the mob, well armed, then occupied the Courthouse to pre-

vent the Court from sitting the next day. Messengers were then sent to the neighboring towns to obtain reinforcements for the mob.

In the evening Sheriff Jonathan Bell sent orders, for assistance in supporting the Court, to the militia colonels in Castleton, Pawlet, and Tinmouth, in the west part of the county. By nine o'clock in the morning two groups of militia had arrived with a force of such strength that the mob left the Courthouse and offered no further interference. During the day additional militia arrived from other towns in the west part of the county.

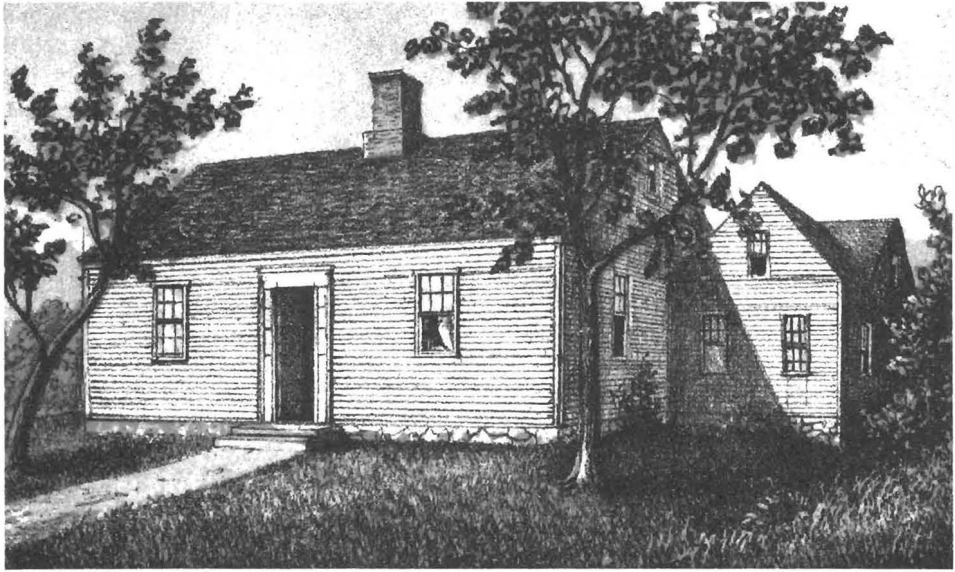
Meanwhile the mob, by misrepresentation and false reports, stirred up indignation toward the Court and during the day received numerous reinforcements, chiefly from the west part of Rutland and from Pittsford to the north. Some also came from the neighboring towns of Ira, Chittenden and Clarendon. But even with the additional numbers, the mob was not such as to challenge the militia with force. However, the mob did continue its noisy demonstrations during the day.



Anti-Court Riot of 1786

At night Colonel Benjamin Cooley, one of the leaders from Pittsford, retired with about fifty of the mob to the house of Lieutenant Roswell Post, about a mile north of the Courthouse. As night fell, several of the more prominent members of the mob, who had remained in the village, were arrested. Colonel Lee, however, escaped. About midnight a group of the militia received orders to arrest Colonel Cooley and his company. The militia surrounded the Post house and called on Colonel Cooley and his man to surrender. A few of the mob escaped by diving out a window. In the exchange one member of the mob, Nehemiah Hopkins, Jr., from Pittsford, had his arm shattered by a shot. The next day Doctors Ezekial Porter and Daniel Reed, both of Rutland, successfully amputated his arm. The prisoners were brought back to the village and placed in jail.

The next morning the mob had gone from the streets, the Court opened and the prisoners were arraigned. Some were discharged without trial, twenty-one pled guilty and were fined nine or ten shillings, plus court costs, and released.



On 26 November 1786 the Roswell Post house (A. Ladd on 1854 map—1991 site of Tenney Brook Square) was the scene of a skirmish between the militia and some of the sleeping anti-court mob. When the house was remodeled in the mid-1800s, bullets were found embedded in the stairs.

Thirteen pled not guilty and received a trial by jury. Charges were discontinued in two cases; five were found not guilty and six were found guilty.

Of the six found guilty of inciting riot, one was from Brandon, two were from Pittsford and three were from Rutland. Apparently, these six men were the most active in leading the mob. All were fined from six pounds to twenty-five pounds, required to post bonds with surety for good behavior for one year, and pay court costs. The bonds varied from fifty pounds to one hundred fifty pounds. The Rutland men who were found guilty and fined were William Roberts and Benjamin Whipple, two early proprietors from the west part of Rutland. They had also been the agents who had presented the Rutland petition to the General Assembly in October. Silas Mead, nephew of Colonel James Mead, was also found guilty and fined.

The militia were dismissed late Saturday and started home on Sunday morning. As they moved west, word came that there were some two hundred malcontents at Colonel James Mead's house in the west part of Rutland. The Court then ordered a recall of the militia and a call for reinforcements. Troops still in Rutland halted at Center Rutland to the east of the Mead house. The militia, returning from the west with reinforcements, halted to the west of the Mead house, thus placing the malcontents at Mead's house between two bodies of the militia.

During the latter part of the preceding week, some of the members of the rebellion had circulated through the neighboring towns with false charges about the Court's attitude and its treatment of the prisoners. The gathering at Colonel Mead's house was the result of righteous indignation falsely aroused.

As Sunday wore on, several friends of law and order used their influence to persuade the mob that the causes of their rebellion were not real but rather falsehoods perpetrated by a few men. Chief among these was the Reverend Jacob Wood, who had been a successful revival preacher in Rutland and in the county in 1784. What evil conditions did exist at the time could not be laid to the Court. Thus convinced, the mob abandoned its rebellion and volunteered support of the Court, the laws and the militia. By Monday all was quiet. The representatives of law and order had triumphed.

Times were changing in Vermont and the aggressive agrarian interests of the early settlers were either replaced by younger conservative and commercial interests or they adapted to the new interests. No longer did the Allens and their friends control Vermont but rather Nathaniel Chipman and his conservative associates were leading Vermont toward federalism and union with the United States.¹⁹

In Rutland a similar change in the political control of the town had taken place. A new and younger group had taken over control of the town government and, aided by the new immigration, was developing an important political and commercial center in the county and the state. The proprietary interests had lost control and only the removal of the formal proprietary distinctions, by the completion and securing of the division and distribution of proprietary lands, remained to be accomplished in order to secure individual landholders in their titles and set the stage for real urban development.²⁰

On 17 November 1788 the proprietors of Rutland met to see if they would establish the former surveys of the proprietors and agree on some measure for giving all the proprietors an equal division of the town in such a manner as "to quiet the present settlers and render justice to all the proprietors. . . ." An examination of the records of the proceedings of the proprietors revealed on 17 June 1789 that, although they had divided their land, at least partially, there was no way of determining the method of division nor sufficient records to provide legal evidence in a court of law. To make a new division at this time, as the laws directed, would do great injustice to the already-settled inhabitants and cause the utmost confusion. Thus, the proprietors decided that since the remaining records indicated that most of the proprietors had already received a large part of their land, and that most of that land was in actual possession of the inhabitants of the town, then nearly the same division as the original division would give the most justice and satisfaction to all. It was clear that forty rights had been laid out in groups of twenty, fifteen and five rights. Twenty-eight original rights apparently had never been laid out and the proprietors directed a committee to lay out two hundred acres to each right not in the forty rights. Another division of one hundred acres was then voted to each of the twenty-eight rights. In many cases the settler was allowed to exchange his draft of land for the lot he lived on. After electing Samuel Williams, Esquire, as the new Proprietors' Clerk, the proprietors voted to send a petition to the General Assembly in October to have the former actions of the twenty, fifteen and five rights confirmed by the Legislature.

In August 1790 the proprietors voted to let out any of the forty rights not yet parcelled out. The first division was to include two hundred acres to the right and the second division to include an additional one hundred acres. In all of the divisions a highway allowance of six acres per hundred acres was to be included.²¹

By the fall of 1790 all the lands in Rutland had been divided, a town plan had been made, and the proprietors began a lengthy process of distribution. The distribution of land was completed by the fall of 1792 when the General Assembly ratified the proprietors' division of the town which was as nearly equal as the situation of the town would admit and met the approval of both the proprietors and the inhabitants of the town.²²

The only dissenting voice to the establishment of the proprietors' actions was from the non-resident proprietor who found himself left with the undesirable lots of land insofar as the inhabitant was generally accorded the privilege of exchanging his draft for the land he occupied. In addition, the division and development of the land invariably led to taxes. After 1791 many absentee proprietors found their lands sold for taxes and many of the sales were little less than confiscatory.²³

Little concern was exhibited for the absentee proprietor and the speculator in Vermont lands and perhaps rightfully so. During the controversies before the Revolution and during the Revolution, the absentee proprietor had risked nothing to preserve his land and now he could reap a profit as the towns developed and the value of land rose. In 1783 the Legislature had passed a law requiring proprietors to settle their rights within three years after the war under pain of forfeit of the land. In 1786 this was amended to allow settlement three years after the outlines of the town had been run.²⁴

Rutland apparently had little problem with absentee proprietors. One exception was John Kelley, one of the great land speculators of the time, who had purchased five rights of land in Rutland from absentee proprietors. In January 1791 he apparently petitioned the General Assembly with some antagonism toward the actions of the Rutland proprietors. But Kelley evidently met little success for in 1803 the administrators of his estate sold his claims in five rights of Rutland land through a quit claim deed for five hundred dollars.²⁵

By 1789 many Vermonters were ready to secure further their future by joining the United States of America. The one obstacle to entering the Union was the threat of New York challenges to Vermont land titles. During the winter of 1788-1789, Nathaniel Chipman, leader of the conservative forces in Vermont, met with Alexander Hamilton, the leader of New York conservatism, in Albany, New York. Hamilton, who was eager to have Vermont enter the Union, worked out an arrangement with Chipman whereby New York would no longer threaten Vermont land titles nor oppose Vermont's entry into the Union. In return, Vermont should pay thirty thousand dollars to New York to compensate the holders of New York titles. By 1790 Vermont and New York had ratified the terms of the agreement. A convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States was held in Bennington, Vermont, in January 1791. The convention, dominated by

conservatives, overwhelmingly approved the ratification of the Constitution. The return of relatively prosperous times had led to some political indifference by the ordinary farmer while a conservative leadership, growing in power, was about to lead Vermont into a golden age of growth and prosperity.²⁶

Rutland had developed from a frontier settlement, fraught with controversy, to the Vermont Military Headquarters during the Revolution. Although Rutland's experience as a military headquarters did not directly confirm its future, it certainly must have sown the seed of possibility. Directly it did provide a political security and a financial income not to be found in other frontier towns, as in 1784 Rutland became a county town and an important political, judicial and legislative center in the Vermont Republic.²⁷

These conditions opened up numerous opportunities for the various professional, artisan and commercial activities required by a developing urban area. A large part of this requirement was filled by a new, urban-oriented immigration from east of the Green Mountains and from older urban areas, particularly eastern Massachusetts. With its urban orientation the new immigration brought a more conservative as well as a more urban character to Rutland. Finally statehood provided the crowning element in opening an urban era for Rutland and a golden age for Vermont.²⁸

BACKNOTES

¹John E. Goodrich, "Immigration to Vermont" [Was Immigration to Vermont stimulated in the years 1760-1790 by persecution on the part of the "standing order" in Massachusetts and Connecticut?] *Proceedings of Vermont Historical Society for 1907-1908* (n.p., n.d), 84-85; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, II (New York, 1921), 385, 442, 500.

²H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, ed., *History of Rutland County, Vermont* (Syracuse, NY, 1886), 313; Crockett, I, 237; II, 244, 265, 279; John Clement, "Naming Vermont in 1763?" *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, n.s. (I, 1930) 90; Lois Kimball Matthews, *The Expansion of New England: The Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620-1865* (New York, 1962), 129, 131; unpublished study by the author of the origins and occupations of immigrants to Rutland, 1780-1790. According to Silas Pratt, an eyewitness, there were only three houses in the east village area in 1775. See Chauncey Kilburn Williams [Notes for a history] MS (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, VT), I, 19. Fort Ranger often held one hundred and fifty to two hundred men.

³Harold P. Meeks, "An Isochronic Map of Vermont Settlement," *Vermont History*, XXXVIII: 2 Spring, 1970), 100; unpublished study by the author of the origins and occupations of immigrants to Rutland, 1780-1790.

⁴C. K. Williams, [Notes . . .], I, 25; Henry Hall Papers MS (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, VT)—"Wm. McConnell." Even today the traveler by automobile very often travels through a rainstorm in the Green Mountains only to emerge into the bright sunshine on the west side of the mountains. In the distance the Rutland area lies surrounded by an amphitheater of mountains. See Smith and Rann, 303.

⁵Genealogical Notes of Mrs. Alton Swan, deceased; Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine embracing a history of each town, civil, ecclesiastical, biographical and military*, III, *Orleans and Rutland Counties* (Claremont, N.H., 1877), 1083. Another early immigrant from the east was Eleazar Wheelock who came to Rutland from eastern Massachusetts in the summer of 1779.

⁶John A. Williams, ed., *The Public Papers of Governor Thomas Chittenden: State Papers of Vermont, XVII* (Montpelier, VT, 1969), 766; Rutland Proprietors' Records MS (hereafter

cited as PR) (City Clerk's Office, Rutland, VT), 58; Genieve Lamson, "Geographic Influences in Early History of Vermont," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the Years 1921, 1922 and 1923* (Montpelier, VT, 1924), 119.

⁷Cogswell, *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I; 2 (1847), 170; Swan Genealogical Notes; Hall Papers (unidentified but probably William Storrer, A Rutland silver- and goldsmith); C. K. Williams [Notes . . .], I, 35; unpublished study by the author of the origins and occupations of immigrants to Rutland, 1780–1790.

⁸Marvel Swan, ed., "[Rutland] West Parish Records" (unpublished typescript), 6; Marvel Swan, ed., "Rutland, Vt., East Parish Congregational Church Minutes," I, 2, 4; Hall Papers—"Lemuel Haynes"; C. K. Williams [Notes . . .], I, 40. For further details on Lemuel Haynes consult Timothy Mather Cooley, D.D., *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (1839). See Williams [Notes . . .], II, [u.p.] for a biographical notice of the Reverend Augustine Hibbard. See the introduction of Merle Curti and William Tillman, ed., *Philosophical Lectures by Samuel Williams, LL.D. On the Constitution, Duty, and Religion of Man; Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. LX:3 (Philadelphia, PA, 1970), 5–12, for a good biographical note, including intellectual elements, on the Reverend Samuel Williams.

⁹Edward A. Hoyt, ed., *General Petitions, 1788–1792: S.P. of Vt., IX* (Montpelier, Vt., 1955), 20–22; Hemenway, III, 1020; C. K. Williams [Notes . . .], I, 19, 40; Abiel Moore Caverly, M.D. *History of the Town of Pittsford, Vermont . . . with Biographical Sketches and Family Records* (Rutland, Vt., 1872), 267; Swan Genealogical Notes.

¹⁰Lawson, 100; letter from Rev. Samuel Williams to his wife Jane, dated Rutland, 22 June 1789, and printed in M.D. Gilman, *The Bibliography of Vermont* (Burlington, VT, 1897), 334–335; Caverly, 262–263; Joseph A. Gallup, *Sketches of Epidemic Diseases in the State of Vermont from its first settlement to 1815* (Boston, MA, 1815), 37; Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier* (Chicago, IL, 1964), 10; Nathan Perkins, *Narrative of a Tour Through the State of Vermont* (Woodstock, Vt., 1920), 21.

¹¹Lamson, 96; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, II, 279, 574.

¹²Land title trials had been suspended by the General Assembly in October 1783. See John A. Williams, ed., *Laws of Vermont, 1785–1791: S.P. of Vt., XIV* (Montpelier, Vt., 1966), 66.

¹³Hiland Hall, *The History of Vermont from its discovery to its admission into the Union in 1791* (Albany, 1868), 439–440. See Williams, S.P. of Vt., XIV, 64–67, for the text of the act. Rutland supported the proposed law by a 39–5 vote on 13 April 1785, and approved a memorial expression to the General Assembly in support of the act on 7 October 1785. See Rutland Town Records MS (hereafter cited as TR) (City Clerk's Office, Rutland, VT), Book I, 378, 390.

¹⁴Edward A. Hoyt, ed., *General Petitions, 1778–1787: S.P. of Vt., VIII* (Montpelier, VT, 1952), 189–192; Crockett, II, 418.

¹⁵Crockett, II, 412.

¹⁶Hoyt, S.P. of Vt., VIII, 189–192.

¹⁷Caverly, 247–248. For the vote returns to the Legislature in February 1787, see Walter H. Crockett, ed., *Journals and Proceedings [of the General Assembly] of the State of Vermont [1784–1787]: S.P. of Vt., III:3* (Bellows Falls, VT, 1928), 284. Rutland voted down the issuance of paper money, 41–13, the extension of the 1783 Tender Act, 42–7, and voted for the fulfillment of contracts, 42–7.

¹⁸Caverly, 248–256; Hall Papers. Caverly's treatment of the Rutland Riot in a definitive treatment based on primary materials. For other riots of the period based on similar causes see Frederic P. Van de Water, *The Reluctant Republic* (New York, 1941), 330–332.

¹⁹Van de Water, 332, 335–336; Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary: 1763–1825* (Montpelier, VT, 1949), 171.

²⁰Proprietors in Vermont had an important role but did not hold all power for manhood suffrage was not based on property (Crockett, II, 216). Non-proprietors quickly became a majority of the population. The Rutland Freeman's List well illustrates this (TR, I, 112). Also

consult Roy Hidemichi Akagi, *The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies: A Study of Their Development, Organization, Activities and Controversies, 1620-1770* (Philadelphia, 1924), 3. However, the identification of Rutland proprietors is difficult due to the fact that land might be purchased with or without the proprietary right to the undivided lands of the town and the proprietary records are little help as they do little more than record grants of land. Thus in the exchange of a right of land, the proprietary right might be transferred or or only the land might be transferred. Florence May Woodward notes this same difficulty in determining who the proprietors were in *The Town Proprietors in Vermont: The New England Town Proprietorship in Decline* (New York, 1936), 61-63. Also consult Akagi, pp. 70, 81, 157, 299, 301.

²¹PR, 71-77. See actual land distribution for allowance of exchange of drafted lot for occupied lot.

²²John A. Williams, ed., *Laws of Vermont, 1791-1795: S.P. of Vt., XV* (Montpelier, VT, 1967), 106-107; PR, p. 79. The Act of the General Assembly required that the proprietors would make a map or plan of the divisions of the town with each proprietor's name written on each lot voted to him. The plan was to be approved by Frederick Hill and Daniel Chipman and placed in the office of the town clerk within two months of the date of the Act. Today no town plan can be found except an early twentieth century reconstruction. The proprietors' records contain references to such a document and have evidence of payment for its completion but the document cannot be found. There is a later reference to a town plan in the town orders of the town treasurer's book in October 1794, but there is no sign of this document either. See PR, 79; Rutland Town Treasurer's Book MS (City Clerk's Office, Rutland, Vermont) I, xvi. See Crockett, II, 574, for another instance of proprietors being authorized to make new divisions due to missing records.

²³Akagi, 70; Williamson, 188. Richard Bushman also touches on this problem in *From Puritan to Yankee*, 77.

²⁴Akagi, 53; Williams, S.P. of Vt., XIII, 220, XIV, 83.

²⁵H. Hall, *Early History of Vermont*, 509; R. C. Benton, *The Vermont Settlers and the New York Land Speculators* (Minneapolis, MN, 1894), 179; TR, II, 21, 46, 56, and VI, 156. There is no record of Keeley's petition other than a note that Samuel Williams and Benjamin Whipple were appointed agents to defend the proprietors in this case. See PR, 85.

²⁶Crockett, II, 441-442; Williamson, 177-180; B. Hall, *History of Eastern Vermont*, 555-565.

²⁷Edward Conant, A.M., *A Textbook of the Geography, History, Constitution and Civil Government of Vermont*, 6th ed., revised and enlarged by Mason S. Stone (Rutland, VT, 1915), 209. The legislature met in Rutland in 1784 and 1786.

²⁸Wade, in his *Urban Frontier*, found that urban-oriented people at this time tended to come from urban areas.

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ISSN 0748-2493

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